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be accomplished if all the great nations could once agree that no nation should be permitted to take by force anything from any other nation. That would settle it. That would reduce war to a minimum. We shall never be able, however, to go that far along the road to peace and progress and true civilization until by common consent all the nations of the world agree to establish an international high court of justice. In our States we have courts, and we have sheriffs to execute the orders of the courts. In the National Government we have courts, and we have marshals to execute the decrees of these courts. When individuals have trouble they do not settle the dispute now, as of old, by combat, but they get a lawyer and take the case into court. When the case is tried and decided, that settles the controversy, no matter which side is dissatisfied, because there is the power of the court—the sheriff—to put the judgment into execution. So to bring about universal peace we must begin by establishing an international high court of justice on whose bench all the nations of the world will be represented. Whenever a nation has a grievance against another nation, before it can go to war about the controversy, it must take the matter into the international high court of justice, and when the court renders its judgment, the nations which are parties to it must be bound by it. When we get such an international high court of justice and an international code of laws founded on righteousness and justice, the bright day of peace will be at hand and cruel war for conquest will be no more. Then, and not till then, will peace reign on earth, with goodwill to all nations, and progress and prosperity in the name of humanity and civilization will walk hand in hand from the Occident to the Orient, and from one end of the earth to the other.”

Death of Hon. John W. Hoyt.

The death, in Washington, on May 23, of Hon. John W. Hoyt, at the age of eighty, has removed from among us a friend of peace of more than usual worth. It is true that, though connected with the American Peace Society for about twenty years as a vice-president, and having been one of the principal speakers at the International Peace Congress held in Chicago in 1893, he never engaged much in actual peace propaganda; but his general work was, much of it, such as to promote among peoples, races, and nations the principles and dispositions out of which peace inevitably springs. The range of his services was very wide. Graduated from Ohio Wesleyan University in 1849, afterwards taking degrees in both law and medicine, holding professorships in chemistry and medical jurisprudence for a few years, assisting in the formation of the Republican party and the promotion of its principles for many years, serving as editor and publisher of the *Wisconsin Farmer* for ten years, and for a longer period as managing officer of the Wisconsin State Agricultural Society, during which time he did much to promote the endowment of colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts, going in 1862 as Wisconsin's Commissioner to the London Universal Exhibition and in 1867 as United States Commissioner to the Paris Universal Exposition—he in these ways touched life at many points and always in a constructive way. He assisted in reorgan-

izing the University of Wisconsin, and obtained for it increased lands and endowments, and the location of the State Agricultural College at the seat of the university. He did much for the Missouri State Agricultural College. He founded, in 1870, the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters, and for years served as its president. He was acting Chief U. S. Commissioner to the Vienna Universal Exposition in 1873, and president of its international jury for education and science. From 1874 to 1876 he was Wisconsin's Railway Commissioner during the "Granger War," and also State Commissioner of Water Routes to the Seaboard. In 1876 he was U. S. Commissioner to the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition, and president of its international jury for education and science. He spent much time trying to secure the improvement of commercial relations between this country and the republics south of us. He was offered the mission to Switzerland, but declined it. In 1876 he accepted, at the earnest solicitation of President Hayes, the governorship of the Territory of Wyoming, where he did much for developing the Territory in many directions. He served afterwards for a time as president of the new University of Wyoming. He organized and was chairman of the Russian Famine Relief Committee of the United States in 1891-2. In 1893 he was special representative for foreign affairs on the Bureau of Awards of the World's Columbian Exposition, where he prevented the foreign exhibits from being finally withdrawn because of dissatisfaction with the management. In all these and other equally important positions he rendered the highest order of service to his own country and the world. He spent much of his later life in Washington in promoting his plan of a true national university at the seat of government, which he had first taken up at the National Educational Association in 1869. The life of "Governor Hoyt," as he was familiarly called, furnishes a conspicuous example of the way in which a man who is actuated by high principles and sane ideals may make all his work, in whatever field, tell for the promotion of the true interests of his own country and of all others at the same time. The true peacemaker's reward is his.

Address at the Mohonk Arbitration Conference, May 16, 1912.

By Hon. Stewart L. Woodford.

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Smiley, Ladies and Gentlemen: With all of you I sorrow for the practical defeat in the Senate of the treaties of arbitration. We were so jubilant a year ago in this conference, and we had come so near to this advanced step in the cause of peace, that we are sadly disappointed now. There is no good in concealing this disappointment; but there should be a steady resolution to keep at the work until this great step toward peace shall have been finally accomplished.

One thing we may at least rejoice over—the most advanced step has been taken in all the history of the ages. For the first time the responsible head of a great government has put himself unequivocally and fairly on the side of universal peace. (Applause.) And however long may be the waiting, however disheartening may be some of the battles of the future, it is a great

thing that the executive head of one of the three or four greatest nations of the world has put his Government, his administration, and himself on the side of universal peace.

Nor, if you look at this thing in the light of the world's history, is there cause for disappointment—that is, permanent disappointment. The progress of men toward higher ideals has always been strangely slow. Out of the Stone age there came the arrow-head, sign of war; the hatchet, token of peace; and from the very beginning this spirit of war, this essence of hell, this purpose of men to struggle and to kill, has been always and sadly evident. You need go back no further than the advent of the Christian era. For nearly two thousand years we have been reciting the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the adhesion to ideals of love and duty and peace, and for two thousand years we have been griping at each other's throats and killing where we could. Every step of advance toward unity, toward peace, toward practical love between man and man has been fought and resisted by all the elements of our lower and more brutal nature. As has been so often said, we have slain more men and women and children in the name of Christ than have been slain for all other causes. The ambitions of men have not killed as many as the struggles of so-called Christian men over creeds and beliefs and methods of worship. We have come very slowly toward the higher ideals. We are nearer to them today than the world has ever been before, and with getting thus nearer, don't let us be discouraged, don't let us give up the struggle, for we are right economically, we are right morally, we are right historically, and the world will keep on until we get finally to where difficulties between nations will be settled as are difficulties between men. It took centuries to get the civilized world to accept the idea of the settlement of difficulty by a lawsuit; it has taken centuries to get men to the point where ambition is willing to lay aside its rivalry, where selfishness is willing to lay aside its purpose and substitute the law of love for the law of force. We shall get there in the wider international sphere just as certain as tomorrow's sun shall rise; there will come the time when the essence of Christianity, the purpose of the Christian life, will reach its result, and we shall settle difficulties between nations just as we settle them today between individuals, without recourse to the horrid agencies of war.

Until I got here I thought I was a pretty old man, but when I look through this audience there are so many men who can "go me better" that I feel quite young. (Laughter.)

Mr. SMILEY: Seventeen years ago they came here as young men, and they have stuck to us, and have got white hairs since that time.

General WOODFORD: Do you mean to tell me, my dear Mr. Smiley, that these people have stood Mohonk for seventeen years and still look so well?

Mr. SMILEY: Yes. The endurance of humanity is great.

General WOODFORD: Now I have given my little message. Young as I am, or old as I may be, I have lived through two wars—one the devastating Civil War and the other the strange Spanish War. I think, after all the years that have gone and with the number of actors in that war who have passed beyond the Great Divide, that I violate no confidence when I say this: If we could

have had some method of arbitration, something that would have enabled us to stop and look the situation right in the face, we might have saved the Spanish War; we might have saved what no man can yet understand, what no man can foresee, what the occupation of the Philippines is to mean in the centuries to come, what the plunging of this nation into what are called world politics is to mean.

When the guns of the Spanish War opened we were a continental power without entangling alliances, living our own life, working out our own future; when the guns of that one-hundred-day conflict grew silent we were a world power intermingled with all the ambitions of world politics, responsible for the administration of islands and lands all around the globe, and what is to be the future no man, Mr. President, can today realize or foretell. That it will all work out to the good of man, that it will all work out in some way to the good of the earth I believe, because I believe in the rule of a controlling Providence. But we have assumed responsibilities, we have plunged into difficulties, we are face to face with a future that is unknown, and we shall need the best patriotism, the broadest Christianity, the love of our fellows to prevent being engulfed in the wars and the ambitions in the future that have been so terrible to the rest of the world powers.

I thank you for listening so patiently. I hope that you will all get from Mohonk all the good that there is in it. For me it is a benediction to come back year after year to take my old friend by the hand; to see the genial influence that peace labors leave upon himself and his cause; and to each and all of you, and most of all, dear Mr. Smiley, to you, may all good be in the future. (Applause.)

The Roosevelt Theory of War.*

By Percival V. Blanshard, of the University of Michigan.

Ex-President Roosevelt has made this astounding statement:

"By war alone can we acquire those virile qualities necessary to win in the stern strife of actual life." These words, coming from the lips of one who was a nation's idol, have fallen like a bombshell in the camp of the pacifists. Not that Mr. Roosevelt's opinion was of overwhelming weight, but that he was voicing the opinion of some of the most influential thinkers of the modern world. Not long before the German philosopher Nietzsche had taken a like position, and he was endorsed by Von Moltke, the statesman; Ernest Renan, the historian; Charles Kingsley and Canon Farrar, the divines. We must have a care, we peace advocates, how we treat such men's opinions. If they are right—if, as they maintain, war develops a nation—then we are fighting against the instrument of our own salvation and smothering the only hope of the nation itself.

But are they right? Does war make for national greatness? Before we can give a rational verdict we must answer certain other questions. What is our nation, anyway? What are the factors that make for its greatness? And how does war affect these factors?

(*This oration won first prize in the National Intercollegiate Peace Prize Contest held at Mohonk Lake, during the Arbitration Conference, on May 16, 1912. The delivery of the oration was exceptionally good.—ED.)